

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE  
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GENEVA - FOR USDEL TO HRC

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: RH, SOPN

SUBJECT:PRESS COMMENT AND GUIDANCE ON RHODESIAN INTERNAL  
SETTLEMENT

1. FOLLOWING ARE RESPONSES BY AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG,  
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, TO  
QUESTIONS ON RHODESIAN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" FROM  
CORRESPONDENTS, UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED  
NATIONS, FEBRUARY 15, 1978. BEGIN TEXT:

QUESTION: COULD YOU GIVE US SOME REACTION TO THE  
SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA?

YOUNG: THE PROBLEM WITH AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS THAT IT  
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IS NO SETTLEMENT. IT DOES NOT ADDRESS THE ISSUES THAT  
HAVE SOME 40,000 PEOPLE FIGHTING. WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO  
IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN IS TO BRING ALL OF THE PARTIES  
TOGETHER IN A WAY THAT STOPS THE BLOODSHED AND THE  
KILLING. NOW, I WOULD HOPE THAT THIS WOULD NOT STOP THE  
ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, BUT THAT IT MAY BE ONE STEP IN THE  
DIRECTION, IN FACT, IT COULD EVEN MAKE IT EASIER, BECAUSE  
IF THERE IS AN AGREEMENT -- AND I AM STILL NOT SURE WHAT  
THE NATURE OF THAT AGREEMENT IS -- IT MIGHT MEAN THAT THIS  
COULD BE ONE STEP TOWARD BRINGING ALL OF THE PARTIES

TOGETHER IN A FREE ELECTION. I THINK A FREE ELECTION,  
INVOLVING ALL OF THE PARTIES IN RHODESIA, IS THE ONLY THING

THAT CAN STOP THE KILLING AND BRING ABOUT LEGITIMATE  
MAJORITY RULE. IF THERE WAS, HOWEVER, AN AGREEMENT TO  
SEPARATE ROLES FOR WHITES, AND A BLOCKING MECHANISM OF  
28 VOTES -- AS WAS PROJECTED EARLIER -- I THINK, I AM  
AFRAID THAT MOST PEOPLE WOULD FIND THIS UNACCEPTABLE AND  
THAT THE PARTIES WHO MADE THIS AGREEMENT MIGHT FIND  
THEMSELVES DISCREDITED. BUT, THAT IS UP TO THE PEOPLE  
OF RHODESIA. THERE CAN ONLY BE A SETTLEMENT IF THE  
OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE CITIZENS OF RHODESIA ARE  
SATISFIED WITH IT...IF THEY DECIDE THAT THEY ARE GOING  
TO SUPPORT A SETTLEMENT REACHED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS  
RATHER THAN CONTINUING TO SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE.  
BUT, THAT WOULD DEPEND ON THE QUALITY OF THE SETTLEMENT  
THAT WAS REACHED.

QUESTION: SO, WHAT NEXT? WHAT WILL YOU DO?

YOUNG: I THINK THAT WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE WHAT THE  
DETAILS OF THE SETTLEMENT ARE, THEN SEE IF THERE IS ANY  
WAY THAT WE CAN BRING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT INTO DISCUSSIONS  
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WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THOSE WHO MADE THE SETTLEMENT.  
THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE SETTLEMENT, AND THE PROBLEM IS,  
THAT WE HAVE HAD EVIDENCE THAT THERE WOULD BE A  
MASSIVE COMMITMENT OF SOVIET WEAPONS, AS THERE WERE IN  
ANGOLA. SO, WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, REALLY, IS NOT SETTLE  
THE SITUATION BUT YOU HAVE CREATED A BLACK ON BLACK  
CIVIL WAR. THAT WAS EXACTLY WHAT WE WERE TRYING TO AVOID.

QUESTION: DO YOU SEE PROSPECTS FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL  
MEETING? DO YOU THINK SOME PEOPLE MIGHT BE CALLING A  
COUNCIL MEETING?

YOUNG: WELL, I HAVEN'T HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT THAT YET.

QUESTION: WILL YOU TALK TO MR. OWEN (DAVID OWEN  
BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER)?

YOUNG: WELL, I'M SURE WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HIM  
ALREADY. I HAVE NOT, BUT I AM SURE THE DEPARTMENT OF  
STATE HAS. AND, WE TALKED ABOUT WHAT WE WOULD DO IN THE  
EVENT THIS WOULD HAPPEN WHEN HE WAS HERE LAST WEEKEND.  
THIS COMES AS A SURPRISE, BECAUSE WE HAD WORD ONLY  
A DAY OR SO AGO FROM BISHOP MUZOREWA THAT HE HAD NO  
INTENTION OF MAKING A SETTLEMENT THAT DIDN'T INCLUDE SOME  
RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED FORCES. SO THIS  
IS THE REASON WHY I STILL HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE  
RELIABILITY OF THIS REPORT.

QUESTION: SO, YOU ARE STILL HOPING THAT IT MAY BE

POSSIBLE TO INTEGRATE WHATEVER AGREEMENT THEY HAVE  
REACHED IN SALISBURY INTO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN?

YOUNG: WELL, I THINK THAT THE ONLY THING, FRANKLY, THAT  
CAN BRING A SETTLEMENT THAT STOPS THE KILLING WOULD BE  
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN SUPPORTED BY ALL OF THE  
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COUNTRIES SURROUNDING RHODESIA. I DON'T KNOW THAT THIS  
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT COULD BE SUPPORTED EVEN BY THE  
MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA.

REMEMBER WE HAVE HAD THREE OR FOUR INTERNAL SETTLEMENTS  
IN VIETNAM WHERE WE TRIED TO SET UP ELECTIONS TO STOP  
THE FIGHTING AND IT NEVER DID. I DON'T WANT TO SEE US  
GET INTO THAT. AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT THAT DID  
NOT BRING SOME ASSISTANCE TO A NEW BLACK GOVERNMENT IN  
THE WAY OF ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE WOULD DO VERY  
LITTLE GOOD AT ALL.

QUESTION: AND YOU ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS TOWARD A  
MOVE TO MAJORITY RULE?

YOUNG: I AM CONVINCED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS  
WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS UNDER THE ANGLO-  
AMERICAN PLAN. I AM NOT SURE THAT THEY WOULD  
PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS THAT WOULD BE CONDUCTED BY  
IAN SMITH. IN FACT, I AM SURE THEY WOULDN'T.

QUESTION: MR. AMBASSADOR, DOES THIS MEAN THAT THERE IS  
GOING TO BE A CONTINUED GUERRILLA WAR?

YOUNG: I AM AFRAID SO. AND THIS IS THE UNFORTUNATE  
PART OF IT, THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WAS REALLY AN  
ATTEMPT TO PUT AN END TO FIGHTING, AND I HAD GREAT  
HOPES SUNDAY WHEN BISHOP MUZOREWA SAID THAT WE WOULD NOT  
MAKE ANY AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT INCLUDE SOME RESOLUTION  
OF THE ARMED FORCES. IF IT IS TRUE THAT HE HAS MADE AN  
AGREEMENT THAT DOESN'T INCLUDE A RESOLUTION OF THE  
QUESTION OF THE ARMED FORCES, THEN I THINK WE WILL  
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PROBABLY HAVE TO COUNT ON THE FIGHTING CONTINUING.

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU APPRAISE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY  
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THIS POINT, MR. YOUNG? ON SUNDAY

WE SEE MR. BOTHA WALKING AWAY "PROFOUNDLY DISAPPOINTED",  
ON WEDNESDAY WE SEE MR. SMITH WALKING AWAY WITH THE  
MARBLES IN RHODESIA, DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED  
SOMETHING LESS THAN SUCCESS IN THIS AREA?

YOUNG: NO, I DON'T THINK SO. BECAUSE I THINK MR. BOTHA'S  
"PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT" WAS THAT HE COULDN'T  
GET HIS WAY. I THINK MR. SMITH HAS ALWAYS HAD THE  
COUNTRY. HE HAS BEEN TRYING TO FIND SOMEBODY TO GIVE IT  
TO. HE MAY HAVE FOUND SOMEBODY TO GIVE IT TO, BUT HE IS  
GIVING THEM NOT A COUNTRY THAT IS THRIVING AND GROWING  
WITH A POTENTIAL FUTURE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILITY.  
HE HAS TURNED OVER TO SOME BLACK LEADERS A BANKRUPT  
NATION THAT IS AT THE END OF ITS ROPE. HOWEVER, HE  
HASN'T EVEN REALLY TURNED IT ALL OVER TO THEM, BECAUSE  
THE LAST TIME WE HEARD OF THIS PLAN IT WOULD HAVE  
EVOLVED A KIND OF SEPARATE BUT EQUAL ARRANGEMENT THAT  
KEEPS THE WHITES ON A SEPARATE VOTING ROLE. THAT WAS  
TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BLACK CITIZENS IN RHODESIA.  
HE MAY HAVE ONLY SERVED IN DISCREDITING THE LEADERS WHO  
ATTEMPTED TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIM. I THINK OUR ROLE IS  
STILL VERY MUCH ONE OF TRYING TO PUT TOGETHER THE PIECES  
AND MAKING A SETTLEMENT THAT PUTS AN END TO THE FIGHTING  
AND TRANSFERS POWER IN A LOGICAL AND RATIONAL WAY TO A  
STABLE MAJORITY GOVERNMENT.

QUESTION: IS THERE ANY CHANCE THAT THIS INTERNAL  
SETTLEMENT WOULD GET INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION; THAT IS  
TO SAY, RECOGNITION FROM THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER  
WESTERN COUNTRIES?

YOUNG: IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. EVEN RECOGNITION  
WOULD NOT ACCOUNT FOR MUCH UNLESS THE UNITED STATES AND  
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OTHER COUNTRIES WERE WILLING TO SEND TROOPS TO DEFEND  
THIS GOVERNMENT. I DON'T THINK WE ARE READY TO DO THAT.  
THIS GOVERNMENT WOULD REQUIRE MASSIVE FINANCIAL HELP AND  
A MASSIVE MILITARY SUPPORT, BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN  
EVIDENCE THAT YOU HAVE SOME 40,000 GUERRILLA TROOPS IN  
ZAMBIA AND IN MOZAMBIQUE, AND IF YOU HAVE THE KIND OF  
MASSIVE BUILD UP OF WEAPONS HERE THAT YOU HAD IN  
ANGOLA, I DON'T KNOW THAT THE WEST IS PREPARED TO MATCH  
THAT MASSIVE BUILD UP. I WOULD HOPE THAT DOESN'T OCCUR.  
BUT WE WERE TRYING TO AVOID EVEN THE POSSIBILITY AND IT  
SEEMS AS THOUGH WE WERE NOT ABLE TO AVOID THE  
POSSIBILITY. I THINK WE WILL STILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO  
TRY TO BRING ABOUT A NEXT BEST ALTERNATIVE.

QUESTION: COULDN'T SMITH'S TROOPS BEAT THOSE 40,000?  
THEY HAVE SO FAR?

YOUNG: OH, I AM NOT SURE. I WAS TALKING WITH ONE OF

BISHOP MUZEROWA'S PEOPLE JUST YESTERDAY. THEY WERE SAYING THAT WHEN BISHOP MUZEROWA WALKED OUT OF THE MEETINGS TWO WEEKS AGO, THE COMMANDERS FOR THE GUERRILLA

FORCES CAME INTO SALISBURY TO CONGRATULATE HIM. EVERYBODY, INCLUDING THE NEWS MEDIA, HAS SAID THAT THE GUERRILLAS HAVE HAD A PRETTY FULL RANGE OF THE TERRITORY IN RHODESIA, BUT THERE HASN'T BEEN A LOT OF KILLING LARGELY BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT TO DESTROY THEIR OWN PROPERTY THAT THEY THINK THEY ARE GOING TO TAKE OVER IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SO, I THINK, WHAT WE ARE GOING TO SEE NOW IS AN END TO THAT RESTRAINT. IF WE SEE AN ESCALATION OF THE WEAPONS THAT ARE SUPPLIED, I THINK WE CAN SEE ANOTHER ANGOLA-TYPE SITUATION WHICH IS WHAT WE WERE TRYING TO AVOID.

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QUESTION: WHAT IS THE NEXT BEST ALTERNATIVE THAT YOU SUGGESTED A MOMENT AGO?

YOUNG: I AM STILL NOT SURE THAT THIS SETTLEMENT IS TRUE BECAUSE OUR INTELLIGENCE REPORTS SAY THAT THIS WOULD NOT HAPPEN, CERTAINLY NOT SOON. IN FACT, BISHOP MUZEROWA ONLY ON SUNDAY SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT MAKE A SETTLEMENT THAT DIDN'T INCLUDE SOME RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED FORCES. IF IN FACT THERE IS A SETTLEMENT, THEN I THINK WHAT WE NEED TO DO IS SEE IF THERE IS ANY WAY, UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, WE CAN BRING THE FORCES OF THIS INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ALONG WITH US AND THE EXTERNAL AND STILL TRY TO PRESS FOR A FREE ELECTION THAT WOULD BE SUPPORTED INTERNATIONALLY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. END OF TEXT.

2. THERE FOLLOWS PRESS GUIDANCE FOR USE BY POSTS WHICH WAS PREPARED FOR DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING ON FEBRUARY 16. BEGIN TEXT:

FOR USE ON INTERNAL AGREEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT  
-- THE UNITED STATES' OBJECTIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND IN RHODESIA IS TO SUPPORT THE CITIZENS OF THAT AREA IN THEIR QUEST FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BASIC POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA, OUR SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE IS TO WORK WITH THE BRITISH FOR A LASTING SOLUTION WHICH GUARANTEES THE INDEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY.

-- WHAT WAS ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY WAS AN AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN PRINCIPLES OF A CONSTITUTION. WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN THE TEXT OF THAT AGREEMENT. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT WE KNOW, IT REPRESENTS ONLY A PART OF A MUCH LARGER AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE SET OF ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MUST BE

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WORKED OUT PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TRANSITION, LET  
ALONE INDEPENDENCE. UNTIL WE SEE A TEXT AND HAVE HAD AN

FURTHER COMMENT. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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